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756 554 think that the two living shamans are far more aggressive and forceful personalities than any chief save Big Jim.

159 624 [115] The following paragraphs give Sinyella's statements of how these men became chiefs. Remarks concerning Manakadja and Captain Jim are somewhat distorted by his jealousy.

Panamida's father, Wasákwívámă was a man without fear; he traveled to Oraibi and the Walapai when enemies were about, so they called him little chief. He was called big chief [in the first half of the last century] after having pulled three enemies from the cliff (see the account of the raid, pp. 357). Sinyella's paternal grandfather was big chief at the time of this raid: they called Wasákwívámă big chief also. (See p. 375 for an account of the peace he negotiated with the Yavapai and Apache.) When Wasákwívámă died, Captain Navajo became the leading chief. Wasákwívámă's father was not a chief. His three sons, Tcyadjává (corn thief), Supai Charlie, and Panamida were chiefs.

159 624 648 I never heard that Captain Navajo's father was a chief. Navajo was not a chief until after he was married; he was about thirty-five to forty years old then. Before he married, Navajo heard about a lot of Walapai girls, and he said he wanted to go marry one. So he stayed with the Walapai for a long time until he married. He stayed a little longer and then said, "I want to go to the Mohave country," but the Walapai said, "We do not want you to go. Those Mohave men are wicked; they are our enemies. You will be killed down there." But he said, "I am sure I want to go." One Walapai said, "I will go with him." So they walked to the Mohave. Navajo had only one big blanket with him. He said to the Mohave, "I brought this blanket to trade for a horse." A Mohave said, "All right; that is pretty good. I will trade a horse with you." So they gave him a young horse. A big chief of the Mohave said, "Our men want to kill both of you: that is what I hear them say. I want both of you to go back right away. I do not want you to be killed here; I am a good friend to you." So both men mounted the horse and rode back at once, hiding along the way. When they were a little east of Kingman [in the western Walapai country] the horse gave out. They left it there and walked home to the other Walapai. The Walapai people said to him, "You are a pretty big, good man; you are not afraid of the enemy. You go right into the enemy's house to trade. Our people do not do that; you are the first one to go there. We say you are a great big man like a big chief; we call you chief." That is how he first came to be called chief. Navajo stayed with the Walapai for several days. Then he went after the horse and brought him back. When the horse was rested, he came home; he did not bring his wife.

159 624 648 754 682 When our corn was ripe in the early fall, the Walapai came down here [about 1856] for some corn and other food they liked to eat. One of the Walapai men, Smiley's father, was a shaman. The Havasupai did not give this man anything, so he felt angry and thought what he would do to make the Havasupai children sick. All the children defecated blood. Another shaman, when he cured the children, said, "That man causes the sickness you have." A good many children died of it, but no adults. That Walapai shaman heard what they said and was afraid. So he fled about sunset to a little canyon above the village and camped there. Navajo, his father, his brother, and sister's husband all said, "We want to kill that Walapai shaman. He made the sickness of which the children died. We feel pretty angry." When it was nearly

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daylight they set out. They found him camping a little way up that canyon. They seized him, split him down the breast and belly with a hatchet, and broke back the ribs. Then they threw the corpse aside and came back.[1] Navajo had talked very emphatically, saying what he wanted done, and they did what he said. So the people said to him, "You are a big chief." 159 624 648 754

Navajo's mother was made sick by another Walapai shaman down here in the village. He sent his spirit to her; she died. That Walapai shaman became afraid of Navajo and fled. Navajo heard that the shaman had been gone only a little while, when he set out to kill him. The shaman with his wife and father had climbed halfway up on the white cliff on the west side of the canyon, when they looked down to the canyon bed and saw Navajo coming. Navajo followed them up the white cliff. The shaman and his father was nearly to the top when he told his father to go along the face of the cliff to hide. The shaman and his wife then fled across the plateau. When they were a little way from the rim, the shaman sent his wife ahead along the road. She went along by herself. The shaman said, "I will go down into Mátakwíðà canyon [the next one west of Cataract] and climb up on its west wall. I will meet you at a certain place beyond there." And he went across that canyon. When Navajo was halfway up the white cliff, he saw the old man above him walking along a ledge near the top. Navajo climbed up and went back a little way from the rim, but could find no one's tracks. He stopped there and turned back in the direction the old man had taken; he thought he would kill him. He ran to the rim and walked along the ledge toward the old man. When he met him, the old man said he did not want to be killed. He called Navajo his relative, "Súdjā, súdjā,[2] I do not want you to kill me. I am a pretty old man; I will not live much longer." Navajo did not listen to him; he had a long sharp knife with which he stabbed him all over. Navajo was a pretty bad man. Those two Walapai shamans did wrong to kill our children and women. Navajo killed two men for it, and the Havasupai said, "You are a big chief now." 682

Not very long after this, a Paiute man came down that same trail. Navajo asked him where that Walapai shaman was camping. The Paiute said he did not want to tell him; he had not seen the camp. They asked him repeatedly, but he would not tell. Finally, after they had given him many presents, he said, "Yes, I know where his camp is. That is where I come from; he camped with us." The Havasupai gave him corn and many other things. When the Paiute went away, Navajo and three other men went with him. When they climbed to the plateau, Captain Navajo said, "I do not feel strong enough to walk along with you: I think I will go back" and he sent the three others with the Paiute. They went on, reaching the camp when it was a little dark. The Paiute man said, "Hide in the woods while I go to the house." He said, "After I have gone to the house and everyone is asleep, I will come back and show you where his camp is. Then you can kill him." So they waited until midnight, when the Paiute man came out and told them. He led them quietly and showed them the man's house. The Walapai shaman was lying close to a little fire. One went in and shot him through the head, killing him. Then the three returned at once and told Captain Navajo, "Yes, we killed the shaman." Navajo said, "All right, that is what I wanted." Everything Captain Navajo said, the people did. They killed that man; then they made him the big chief. Wasákwívámă, who was big chief, was still alive at the time Navajo killed these men. So these two men were both big chiefs at the 624 159

[1] This is identical with a mythical incident.
[2] *Vur su'ldjipa*, a man's elder brother's son.

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where others pushed them into the cave. When the entrance was filled, they set fire to the wood and suffocated all those inside: none escaped.[1] 726

Torts.

If a man accidentally hurt another, he would give a present to assuage his injured feelings and prevent retaliation. Neither husband nor wife was responsible to the other for injuries to their children. If a foreigner murdered a Havasupai, his relatives would immediately revenge themselves on the murderer. In spite of their intimate relations with the Walapai, fracases do occur; recently knives were drawn in a dispute over a horserace. If a Havasupai killed a Walapai, his relatives might pay a blanket, horse, or buckskin to prevent his being killed in retaliation. A chief would accompany them to the Walapai. Similarly, the Walapai would offer to pay if one of their number killed a Havasupai. When two men quarrel, as when one sets upon his wife's lover, bystanders interfere before either comes to grief. A shaman is killed for his misdeeds (p. 239). 682 [593] 648 683 [628] 627 683

A theft by a Navaho is instanced wherein revenge is taken by killing and despoiling an innocent member of that tribe (p. 367). Sinyella's father received recompense (a blanket) from a Hopi who stole his Navaho wife (p. 227). 628 648 685

Comparative Notes

Data on residence after marriage are lacking for many tribes in this area. Yet there seems to be some local differentiation. Matrilocal residence as the normal procedure holds for the Hopi, Zuñi, Sia, and undoubtedly other Pueblos. It is important to know how residence is affected by male ownership of houses on the northern Rio Grande and by ownership by either sex in the middle Pueblo area. In Laguna at least there is both matrilocal and patrilocal residence. Dumarest indicates Cochiti as patrilocal, but Starr has it matrilocal. The Navaho may be matrilocal and the Kiowa certainly are.[2] Patrilocal residence occurs in the Southwest among the Pima, Papago, Yuma, Cahuilla, evidently the Western Apache and Northern Diegueño, and perhaps the Gabrielino.[3] Temporary matrilocal residence is found among the Havasupai, Apache (all other groups?), Mohave, Cocopa, Yavapai, Uintah Ute, Paviotso, Washo, Patwin, the Northern Maidu of the foothills, Northeastern Maidu, and occasionally among the Southern Diegueño and Wind River Shoshoni. The Northern Maidu of the Sac- 171 591 [423]

[1] Compare the same procedure of the Paviotso (Hopkins, 74 75).
[2] Kroeber, (j), 92; Stevenson, M. C., (a), 29; Parsons, (d), 170; Dumarest, 148, Starr, (a), 43; Lipps, 45; Curtis, I, 125-127; Mooney, (r), 233.
[3] Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, I, 133; II, 33, 68; Gifford, (a), 173, 186; Rust, 11.

578 gambling, such conflict most often arising over an unpaid debt.

579 In both instances, women sometimes engage in hand-to-hand fighting. Women of almost any age, with the exception of the very old, may be involved. Such fighting is characterized by scratching, clawing, biting, hair-pulling, hitting, kicking, or any other method that seems expedient.

In one such fight over a gambling debt, a woman of 18, who, incidentally, was in advanced pregnancy when the fight occurred, attempted to collect money from a woman of 40 who claimed she did not owe it. The younger woman attacked the older one, knocked or dragged her to the ground, and climbed astride her. While the older woman sought to fend off her adversary, her attacker pummeled her and yanked her hair. The fight was ended by the younger woman's husband, who dragged her off. The younger woman, yelling invectives at the older one, strained to break away from her husband and continue the beating she had been so successfully administering, but her husband took her home. This fight occurred at the public gambling place in view of numerous spectators.

578 837 All fights over men reported to the investigator involved the wife of the man in question and another woman suspected of adultery with him. Women probably do not fight over the affections of any man unless one of them is already married to him. Such fights are described as similar to the one above in techniques employed. Often they are broken up by the husband in question or another man who happens to be on the scene or attracted to it. Serious injury probably is not inflicted in fights between women.

Suicide and Murder

682 762 No Havasupai woman has ever come to violent death or caused one so far as could be discovered. Two known suicides, an attempted shooting (unpremeditated), two deaths by possible accident or suicide, and deliberate killings all concern men only.

762 The suicides both were young men. One, a youth of 20 or 21 years, shot himself rather than return to school at Valentine. This occurred about 1900, shortly after Havasupai children had first been sent away to school. The youth had been attending school in Valentine a year or more when he was called home because his brother was near death. After his brother's funeral, the youth delayed returning to Valentine but, under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, he finally started out of the canyon in company with an older man. On the pretext of shooting rabbits, the young man borrowed a rifle from his companion and rode off the trail some distance before shooting himself. The first bullet pierced his lip, but missed his head. The second entered his heart.